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ABSTRACT

This paper specifically focuses on the balance between local dialect and the language standard through the examination of generational markers reflecting upheaval and social transformation, as presented from a case study from Denmark, conducted over 8 years in three field trips. Generation is redefined as experiencing specific socio-historical events at similar life-stages, there by gaining insight into the correlation of generational markers and dialect change. It is further demonstrated that the vacillation between standardization and local dialect innovations is directly correlated to the effect of socio-historical events on a generation of the residents, who not only defined the dialect, but also transformed the internal social constructs of the community. As the younger residents become more active in the social networks, their life experiences and attitudes become reflected in the evolving dialect. Evidence was found for attitude changes focused on a contrastive means for self-identification and on a local versus regional identity. Innovative forms and long-standing isoglosses were found to have faded as the single industry economy waned due to European Union quotas and resulting social changes. Linguistic changes found suggest initial rapid development and more recent standardization of the dialect that emerged some 80 years ago. (Contains 24 references.) (Author/NAV)

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Creating and Balancing Identities: Generational Markers of Social Transformation*

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0. Introduction

Generational evidence for change has been explored with a variety of theoretical approaches (e.g., Dorian 1981; Kroch 1991; Labov 1972; Pedersen 1994; Silverstein 1995; Woolard 1989; among others). This paper specifically focuses on the balance between the local dialect and the standard through the examination of generational markers reflecting upheaval and social transformation. Generation is redefined as experiencing specific socio-historical events at similar life-stages, thereby gaining insight into the correlation of generational markers and dialect change. It is further shown that the vacillation between standardization and local dialect innovations is directly correlated to the effect of socio-historical events on a generation of the residents, who not only define the dialect but also transform the internal social constructs of the community. As the younger residents become more active in the social networks, their life-experiences and attitudes become reflected in the evolving dialect. In this way the socio-history of the community, the identifying power of the dialect, and the self-consciousness of the residents must be considered together.

Specific findings are presented from a case study of Thyborøn Denmark, socio-linguistically sampled in three field trips over eight years. Thyborøn as a town and new transplanted dialect (Trudgill 1983; 1986) emerged roughly 80 years ago; linguistic changes evidence initial rapid development and more recent standardization. Also evidenced are attitude changes which focus both on a contrastive means for self-identification and on a local versus regional identity. Innovative forms and long-standing isoglosses have faded as the single industry economy waned due to European Union quotas and resulting social changes.

1. Methodology

In order to explore the question of generational marking of social transformation, an integrated set of historical data were collected on Thyborøn's social and economic development, demographics, linguistic contact situations, and on the individual informants' social networks, ideologies and life-modes, as well as linguistic changes sampled over two sociolinguistic interviews collected six years apart.

For presentation purposes a subgroup of six women from the total informant population of 75 were chosen. These six were randomly chosen based on three criteria: (1) that they were interviewed during both 1989 and 1995; (2) that they represented one of the three generations of adult speakers in Thyborøn; and (3) that the age differences between the informants within a generational grouping be less than 10 years apart. Women were chosen because of their propensity to lead in linguistic and ideological change as documented by many sociolinguistic and ethno-dialectological studies since the 1960's of both Europe and the United States.

The six women are divided equally into three groups based on age: Group 1: 65+ years old; Group 2: 45 to 65 years old; and Group 3: 25 to 45 years old. Table 1 presents a summary of the informants' background and orientation to the community of Thyborøn. Before discussing the findings in Table 1, let us briefly consider Thyborøn's history.

2. Brief background of Thyborøn

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Thyborøn was established at the turn of this century, which made it possible to document in detail the factors and stages in the development of its dialect in particular. Thyborøn's history can best be summarized as a continuing struggle for survival. Until the turn of this century, the struggle was one of man against nature. The land mass upon which Thyborøn now sits (see Map 1), is nothing more than the result of massive sand drifts and North Sea storms which ravaged the northwestern coast of Jutland. By the late 1870's we can talk about Thyborøn as a community because of the bonds that kept the small number of people there despite terrible living conditions and natural disasters.

Today Thyborøn is a town with roughly 2,600 residents. Thyborøn's demographic history is quite astounding, as the population increased at an average of 53% every five years from 1900 to 1970 (see Figure 1 in). It remains a single industry community, relying solely on fishing. Since the mid 1980's Thyborøn has experienced serious economic depression, with widespread bankruptcy among the fishermen who operate independent boats. 1994 was the first year in nearly a decade during which the annual auction results for fish showed a positive return.

3. Generational marking and social transformation

The rapid rate at which Thyborøn came into existence, experienced an incredible economic boom which encouraged massive in-migration and community development, and then slid into economic despair since the early 1980's is astounding enough. However, the focus of this research is to determine the means by which the local residents define not only the unique local dialect which emerged in Thyborøn, but also the internal social constructs of the community. As the residents share life-experiences at similar life-stages, they develop means for identifying themselves as a group through their shared outlook on the present and future (i.e. through their life-modes and ideological orientation to life in Thyborøn).

Let us consider Table 1 again. We immediately note the differences in age as a characteristic of the three groups. However, age alone is not what separates these women.

3.1. Socio-historical differences and social change

If we consider points (1) through (6) together, we notice that date of birth, type of occupation and level of education coincide with having experienced a set of important socio-historical events. As we move from Group 1 to 3 along point (6), each group experiences only what is listed in its cells and those to the right. However, only the members within a group experience the socio-historical events at similar life stages hence with similar orientations to the events. The life-stage at which group members experience socio-historical events is crucial to that group's collective orientation to the events and in turn to the effect which those events may have on their orientation to the community. A more detailed summary of each informants' ideological orientation to the community and the dialect is provided in Table 2. Due to time constraints, I will not be able to discuss Table 2, but the more general points are represented by Table 1.

In considering Table 1, Group 1, we note that these women faced numerous challenges. They were typically born into poverty, arrived in Thyborøn as young adults, had little education and few choices in occupation due to social expectations of roles and values for women, and then raised small children during the German occupation of WWII. These women were part of the development of a modern fishing industry in a town which was experiencing massive internal migration. They lived in a community whose population was growing at astronomical rates and whose members represented numerous dialect areas. These women spent the majority of their adult years in Thyborøn in numerous situations of linguistic accommodation which would result in the emergence of a new dialect, Thyborønsk. Their own identity is still closely linked to the pride of being a member of a boom town.

The Group 2 women grew up during times of post-WWII prosperity and development in Thyborøn. They witnessed major physical expansions of the town and the beginning of social changes for women. These social changes translated into a chance to receive more education than the Group 1 women as well as to earn their own money through wage earning jobs before and after raising their children. In many ways Group 2's responses to ideological orientation (point 9) are similar to those of Group 1, except for one crucial difference, the Group 2 women still dream of

pursuing a career other than their present wage earning occupations. This difference is reflected in point (10) which summarizes their present life mode as a composite of modes 1 and 2. Briefly, life mode analysis, according to the Danish ethnographer Thomas Højrup (1983), offers a means for analyzing the everyday life of members of a group along economic lines and along shared ideological social constructs which bind the group together. Composite life modes usually occur during transitional stages where a person may reside and support the ideology of one life mode but economically participate in another life mode type.

Finally, if we consider Group 3 as compared to Groups 1 and 2 in terms of points (1) through (6), we notice how different the life experiences of these six women are. The Group 3 women have a very different orientation to the local community as a result of having grown up in a very different Thyborøn than Group 1 and 2. Namely, a Thyborøn which is a dying town as opposed to a boom town. While the Group 3 women identify themselves as Thyborøn residents without hesitation, what it means to be a member of the community has changed as dramatically as the economy.

The Group 3 women grew up during a period of rapid social change in rural Denmark which had lagged behind the urban areas. These changes brought increased opportunities for women in education and industry, the acceptance of double income households, wide spread use of birth control, co-habitation before marriage, and increased mobility leading to frequent contact with people from other (dialect) areas. These women received vocational training after junior high. This entailed traveling out of Thyborøn and being in classes with students who were generally not from Thyborøn and who do not understand the Thyborøn dialect. Like the Group 1 women, the Group 3 women were (and still are) involved in many situations requiring linguistic accommodation. Unlike the Group 1 women though, these women envision careers for themselves and opportunities for personal and economic improvements which take them beyond the community boundaries, despite already having families (this last points separates them from the Group 2 women). These differences in orientation to membership are briefly presented in point (9) and more thoroughly in Table 2.

To summarize the discussion thus far, we have briefly reviewed data which support generational definition based on having experienced different socio-historical events and social changes at different life-stages. The next step is to relate the social changes and the linguistic changes along the generational lines we have just defined.

3.2. Social changes and linguistic changes

A major force in linguistic change is contact with speakers from other areas. Recalling the discussion of the Group 1 women, we note that as a result of moving to Thyborøn and living there during the years of massive internal migration, these women were frequently in situations of linguistic accommodation. The direction of this accommodation was towards a common linguistic ground to ensure communication which, in turn, built upon the developing sense of community identity. We know from demographic profiles such as Figure 2, that a variety of dialects were represented by the local population and we know that the end result of the linguistic contact was the emergence of a new dialect, Thyborønsk.

Thyborøn's development seems to pattern closely with Trudgill's 1986 dialect transplantation model for Højanger, Norway, which documents the development of a new dialect over the course of three generations of speakers. Since we know from demographic studies conducted on Thyborøn (Lane in progress) that the Group 1 members were the first generation involved in the dialect transplantation, it then follows that as Group 2 was growing up, they were likely influenced by their parents' native dialects and the mixture of dialects in the town. Standardizing factors such as the new local school also played an important role in forming this generations' dialect variety, which was no doubt different from their parents (whether immigrant or native). The formation of a dialect variety for this generation was supported by the positive socio-historical events which they experienced (see Table 1, point (4)). Amidst the linguistic chaos in Thyborøn, individual variation of competing forms was, of course, likely.

By the time we encounter third generation speakers, we should expect that there is a uniform code. This uniformity among the third (and subsequent) generation arose "out of dialect

mixture [which] is clear from an examination of [the dialect's] linguistic characteristics. This reveals components from many different contributing dialects." (Trudgill 1986:96-97).

While we do find a degree of uniformity in code among the Group 3 members, we also find early signs of regional standardization. Recall that these women were the first generation to leave Thyborøn in their late teens to receive higher education. As a result of the contact with students from other towns and dialects, these young women often recount that because they spoke Thyborønsk they were not understood and were mocked by the other students. Through school and local sports clubs they were in frequent contact with people from other dialect areas and had to linguistically accommodate to the other speakers and away from their own dialect. During these accommodation situations, the other speakers were not attempting to accommodate to the Thyborøn women, unlike the type of situation which the Group 1 women partook in during their young adult years.

Table 3 presents a list of 24 linguistic markers of Thyborønsk as they are distributed across the three groups. The leftmost columns offer the lexical item in written Standard Danish with an English translation. Data from the 1989 and 1995 interviews were compared for all six women. Table 3 presents the phonetic realizations of the markers as produced by each woman. The markers which seem to be exhibiting change have been shaded. The light shading indicates the early presence of potential shifting (see for example, numbers (1), (11) and (18) through (22)); medium shading indicates generational markers (see for example, numbers (6), (7), (10), (12), (14) through (17) and (24)); and darker shading indicates that the marker is undergoing or has undergone regional standardization (see the same examples as generational marking).

It is significant that the Group 3 women report to be consciously regionalizing the Thyborønsk dialect as a result of contact situations (see Table 1 point (7) and the darkly shaded cells in Table 3). Even more interesting is the fact that they actively chose to speak to their children in Standard Danish and only after age 4 or 5 do they begin to introduce some Thyborønsk forms when speaking to their children (see Tables 1 and 2). Recalling Table 1, point (7) it is interesting to note that both of the Group 3 women state that they are *actively* changing their code, while one of the Group 2 women, Karen J., states that her code is *being* changed as a result of what she hears around her. When speaking with adult community members, the Group 3 women speak their new version of Thyborønsk, and openly criticize and 'correct' Group 2 members for using antiquated Thyborønsk forms (for example, points (8), (14) and (15) in Table 3). Both Group 1 and 2 women have commented upon Group 3's behavior and view it with dismay and occasionally even disgust. Only the Group 2 women are reprimanded by Group 3 speakers for using older forms, and both groups openly admit and recount anecdotes of such instances. An example of such an anecdote is told by Group 2 member Inger H., and a similar anecdote is told by Group 3 member Dorte M. I have transcribed, translated and provided numeric references to the markers as they appear in Table 3 for you to consider.

Transcript of Anecdotes Played

A phonetic transcription of the marker (and its corresponding number from Table 3) follows the Standard Danish orthographic representation which is italicized. An English translation follows each excerpt.

Group 3: *Dorte M., born in 1965 in Thyborøn - Interview recorded Feb. 1995 (no relation to Inge H.)*

DM: Min *mor* [moɹ] (12) er lidt breder end *jeg* [ɛ] (17) er, altså i *nogle* [nown] (1) ting hun *siger* [saɪʔə] (20). Øh, hvad var det da, hun *sagde* [sɑ] (21) den anden *dag* [dawʔ] (13), for eksempel? Øh, 'blåde' [blåˢð], *sagde* [sɑ] (21) hun. Og så *sagde* [sɑ] (21) *jeg* [ɛ] (17), "altså *mor* [moɹ] (12), der er altså ingen ting, der hedder." Altså, det er 'blade' [blæðə], hun mener. Og, der er sådan *nogen* [noŋ] (1) ting, hun *siger* [saɪʔə] (20), som ... altså, hun er breder end *jeg* [ɛ] (17) er.

Lane: Hvorfor tror du, du er ikke lige så bred, som hun er?

DM: Jamen altså, *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *synes* [tɔwˀs] (22) simpelthen *noget* [nɔj] (2) af det hun *siger* [saɪˀə] (20), lyder direkte skør. Altså, um ... Ja, okay, *jeg* [ɛ] (17) kan selvfølgelig *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) komme i tanke om ... men, bare det der, den anden *dag* [dawˀ] (13), hun *sagde* [sɑ] (21) det der, "tag lige den 'blåde' [blåð] der." Hvad er det hun *siger* [saɪˀə] (20)? Hun *siger* [saɪˀə] (20) egentlig en del sådan ord, som, som *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) *siger* [saɪˀə] (20). Altså så har *jeg* [ɛ] (17) også mit, mit sprog fra skole af. Altså, eller ... altså, *jeg* [ɛ] (17) snakker jysk, men *jeg* [ɛ] (17) snakker *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) øh... direkte gammel thyborønsk, det gør *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5), slet *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5).

Lane: Tror du |

DM: |Og *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *siger* [saɪˀə] (20) heller *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5), *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *siger* [saɪˀə] (20) heller *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) *tirsdag* [tʰi.ˢsdə] (14), eller onsdag [wu.nsdə], eller torsdag [tʰɑ.sdə], *fredag* [fraɪ.ðə] (15), lørdag [low.ðə]. Altså, sådan snakker *jeg* [ɛ] (17) virkelig *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5). Altså, *jeg* [ɛ] (17) *siger* [saɪˀə] (20): mandag [mænˀdæ], *tirsdag* [tiˀɹsdæ] (14) , onsdag [oˀnsdæ], torsdag [toɹˀsdə], *fredag* [freˀdə] (15), lørdag [lɔˀɹdə], søndag [sonˀdə].

Translation of Group 3 member's anecdote:

DM: My mother is a bit broader [in speech] than I am, that is, with some of the things she says. Oh, what was it she said the other day, for example? Oh, she said, "[blåˢð]." And so I said, "really mom, there's nothing called that." It was magazine that she meant [to say]. And there are things like that, that she says, which ... really, she is broader [in speech] than I am.

Lane: Why do you think that you are not as broad [in speech] as she is?

DM: Well, I mean, basically, I think some of what she says just sounds crazy. That is, um ... Yeah, okay, of course I can't think of any ... but, just that one the day, she said, "just take that [blåˢð] there." What is it she says? She actually says a lot of those kinds of words which, which I don't say. And then I have my, my language from school. I mean, either ... I mean I speak Jysk ('Jutlandic'), but I don't speak like oh ... exactly old Thyborønsk, I don't that, not at all.

Lane: Do you think |

DM: |And I also don't, I also don't say [tʰi.ˢsdə] ('Tuesday'), or [wu.nsdə] ('Wednesday'), or [tʰɑ.sdə] ('Thursday'), [fraɪ.ðə] ('Friday'), [low.ðə] ('Saturday'). I mean, I really don't talk like that. That is, I say: Monday [mænˀdæ], Tuesday [tiˀɹsdæ] , Wednesday [oˀnsdæ], Thursday [toɹˀsdə], Friday [freˀdə], Saturday [lɔˀɹdə], Sunday [sonˀdə].

Group 2: *Inger H., born in 1948 in Thyborøn (has 2 young adult sons) - Interview recorded Feb. 1989 (no relation to Dorte M.)*

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IH: Men altså, den bruger de jo *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) så meget [mɔjˀ] (3) i *dag* [dɑ́ˀ] (13), vel? Hvad er der mere? Før i *dag* [dɑw] (13), da *sagde* [sɑ] (21) vi også, altså der var to kroner, *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5), og den, da kaldte vi jo det en daler. Men det *siger* [sɑɪˀə] (20) *jeg* [ɛ] (17) også tit i *dag* [dɑ́ˀʰ] (13), altså *jeg* [ɛ] (17) ... Og *børn* [bɑˀ] (10), de bliver sur, "du skal *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) *sige* [sɑɪ] (20) 'en dollar', du skal heller *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) *sige* [sɑɪ] (20) [tʰi.ˢsdə]." Så får *jeg* [ɛ] (17) sommetider erstats, "du skal heller *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) *sige* [sɑɪ] (20) *tirsdag* [tʰi.ˢsdə] (14), det lyder så dum." Men altså, der er mange ord ... *jeg* [ɛ] (17) vil *sige* [sɑɪ] (20) at mine børn, der er *ikke* [ɛˀ] (5) fornem, i forholdt til, hvad dem, dem helt små i *dag* [dɑ́ˀʰ] (13). Det er godt nok, altså det er noget helt andet sprog, de fører end vi *gør* [gɔj] (18).

Translation of Group 2 member's anecdote:

IH: Well, I mean, they don't use that [word] so much today, you know? What else is there? Back in the day we also said, that is, there were two Kroner [coins], right, and we called that "a dollar." But I still say that often these days, I mean I ... And the children get mad, "you shouldn't say a 'daler', you also shouldn't say [tʰi.ˢsdə] ('Tuesday')." So sometimes I get corrected, "you also shouldn't say [tʰi.ˢsdə] ('Tuesday'), it sounds so stupid." But, I mean, there are a lot of words ... I wanna say that my children are not proper [i.e., don't speak Standard Danish, or a High norm] compared to what the, the really young kids [speak] today. That is really, I mean, that is a completely different language, what they are using compared to what we do.

What we have just heard, read and seen in Table 3 encapsulates the main point of this paper. Namely, that we are able to witness definite generational changes in some linguistic markers (for example, the words for "Tuesday", point (14) and "Friday", point (15)), and we are able to relate these linguistic changes to important changes in orientation to the dialect and to life in Thyborøn (witnessed, for example, through the statements of how Dorte M.'s mother's speech often sounds "crazy" to her; and through Inger H. being told by her children not to use certain forms because they sound "stupid"; as well as points other points in Tables 1 and 2). Generally, we find that the younger generation strongly supports the use of more regionally standardized forms when speaking with other local adults, and supports the use of Standard or near Standard Danish when speaking with young children.

The reason which the Group 3 women consistently offer for their linguistic behavior to their children is that they would like their children to be able to choose what they will speak, thereby giving them the chance to blend in at school. A chance which they say they did not have, and suffered humiliation as a result. More importantly, these women comment that they hope to prepare their children for a future outside of Thyborøn, and this must begin with giving them a linguistic code to meet the 'outside' challenges. None of the Group 3 women (nor Group 1 and 2 when asked about their grandchildren) could imagine an economic or employment future in Thyborøn for their children.

4. Conclusion

The points represented in the three Tables and in the tape exerts which I have presented to you today, represent a set of linguistic and ideological changes in orientation to the community which divide the women into groups. These changes are a major part of the construction of generational identity and ideology.

We have briefly explored the definition of three generations of Thyborøn women as having experienced specific socio-historical changes at different life-stages. Two interesting outcomes of

these experiences are the development of social ideology and the development of the Thyborønsk dialect. We can characterize the three groups as follows:

Group 1 partook in the initial creation of a local Thyborøn identity and the emergence of a new transplanted dialect which was the result of massive convergent accommodation among the native residents and the massive amounts of in-migrants.

Group 2 partook in the crystallization and maintenance of the Thyborøn identity and dialect. The continued economic boom aided in the further development of local ideology as it provided as sense of pride in the community as well as sense of security for the future. Despite changes in the local economy, this group continues to attempt to maintain the sense of local pride and the local linguistic norms. They are the most adamant about not shifting out of Thyborønsk.

Group 3 is partaking in the latest transformation of the local identity and dialect. This transformation is different in that the definition of being a Thyborøn member now entails speaking a less locally defined dialect, and transmitting non-localized linguistic norms and identity to ones children to prepare them for a future outside of Thyborøn.

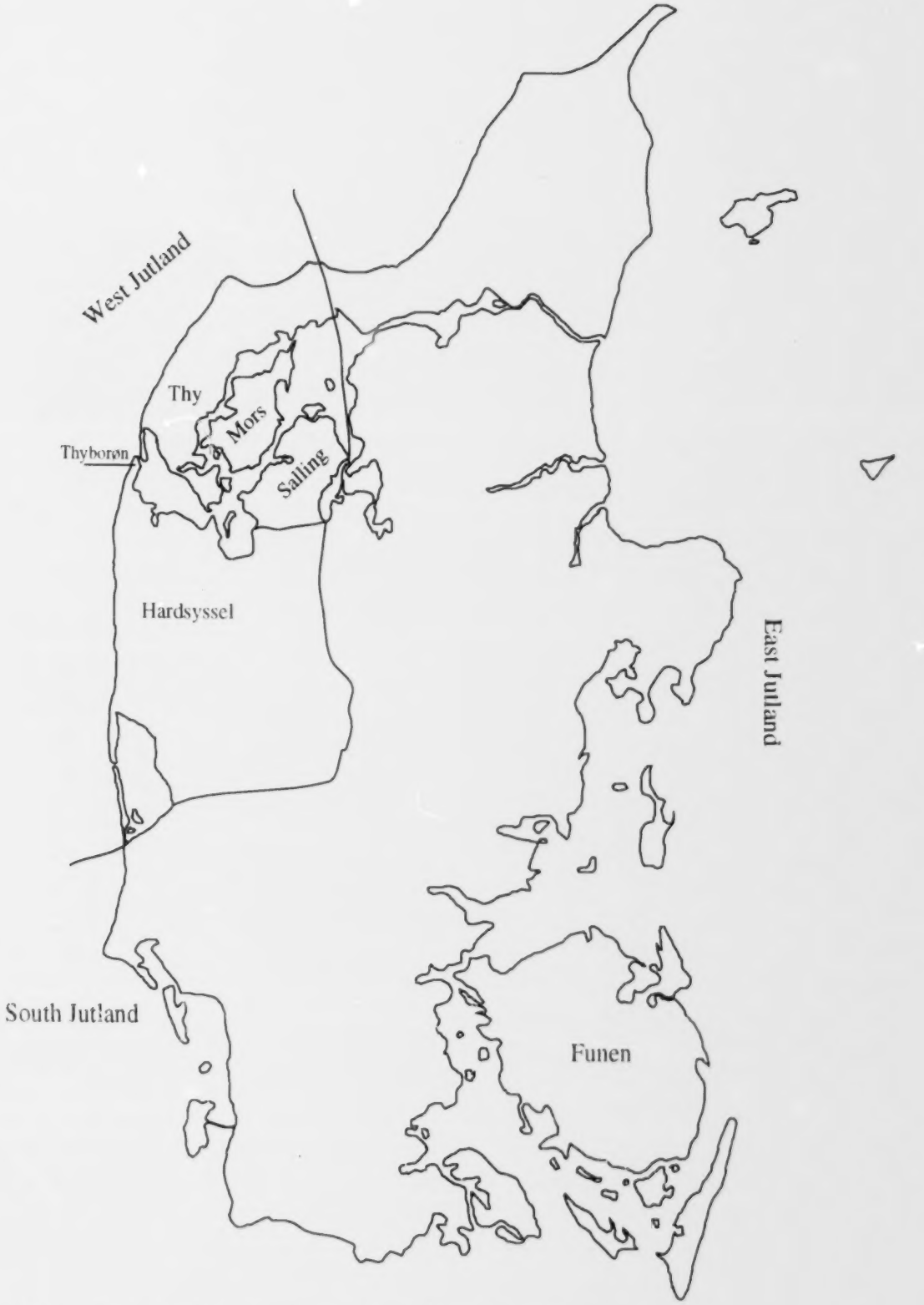
I hope I have made clear how these the three groups of women differ in their linguistic and social ideology, and perhaps why and how these differences pattern along generational lines. A goal in conducting this type of sociolinguistic analysis is to shed light on the question of the actuation of linguistic change as raised by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog in their 1968 seminal article.

I would like to underscore that while generational divisions beyond age do exist, all of these women still share a very important feature: they belong to the well-defined community of Thyborøn and their differences are more a matter of degree than of whole. Table 3 perhaps visually sums up this crucial point the best. While there are a number of markers whose cells are differently shaded across the groups, (for example, points (6), (8), (10), (12), (14) - (17), and (24)), nearly an equal number of the high frequency markers of Thyborønsk pattern similarly across all three groups (for example, points (1) - (5), (7), (13), (18), (20), and (23)) as well as some prosodic and syntactic features which are not considered Table 3). This reveals that while there are definite generational differences of linguistic and social orientation to the Thyborøn community among the residents, the community identity as a whole is nonetheless maintained through those markers which are shared by all generations and which continue to act as a means for local identification. It will be up to the next generation to define what being a Thyborøn resident will entail in the future, both linguistically and socially.

Orientation	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V.	Annine K.	Karen J.	Inger H.	Vibeke N.	Dorte M.
(1) Born	1909 in Langerhuse (6 kilometers south of Thyborøn)	1913 in Rønland (3 kilometers south of Thyborøn)	1941 in Thyborøn	1948 in Thyborøn	1963 in Thyborøn	1965 in Thyborøn
(2) Arrival Age/Date	20 1929	20 1933	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn	Born in Thyborøn
(3) Years in Thyborøn	66	62	54	47	32	30
(4) Occupation	Housewife	Housewife	Mini-school bus and independent taxi driver	Maid and kitchen assistant at the Convalescent Home	Office assistant for the Auction Hall (only female at work place)	Previously a florist, presently unemployed on maternity leave from studying to be a social worker.
(5) Education	Some grade school	Some grade school	Junior high school	Junior high school, recently sent to kitchen assistant classes by employer	Vocational school after grade school	Vocational school after grade school
(6) Major Socio-Historical Events experienced in Thyborøn	• Arrived during Thyborøn's formative years. • Raised children under WWII occupation. • Born into poverty, had few choices as a child.	• Arrived during Thyborøn's formative years. • Raised children under WWII occupation. • Born into poverty, had few choices as a child.	• Grew up during post-WWII prosperity and modernization. • Had educational opportunities, but traditional social roles for women impacted choices.	• Grew up during post-WWII prosperity and modernization. • Had educational opportunities, but traditional social roles for women impacted choices.	• Childhood during last prosperity and development stage for Thyborøn. • As young adult, has witnessed economic despair and severe depression. • More educational and professional opportunities due to social role and value changes for women.	• Childhood during last prosperity and development stage for Thyborøn. • As young adult, has witnessed economic despair and severe depression. • More educational and professional opportunities due to social role and value changes for women.

Orientation	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V.	Annine K.	Karen J.	Inger H.	Vibeke N.	Dorte M.
(7) Self-Defined Language Choice	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk, but **it's becoming** more generally West Jutlandic	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk, but **I've made it** more general Jutlandic	Thyborønsk, but **I've made it** more general Jutlandic
(8) Language Spoken to Children	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Standard Danish, now some Thyborønsk also	Standard Danish, now a little Thyborønsk also
(9) Ideological Orientation to Thyborøn	Traditional roles and values: Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move	Traditional roles and values: Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Traditional values but has an occupation, dreams of having a career. Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Traditional values but has an occupation, dreams of having a career. Thyborøn is central to self-defined identity; would not move.	Urban values, has an occupation and aspires to have a career. Thyborøn is important to self-defined identity, but would like to move.	Urban values, has an occupation and aspires to have a career. Thyborøn is important to self-defined identity, but would like to move.
(10) Life-Mode: (a) Present (b) Ideal	**(a)** Mode 1 ("rural") **(b)** Mode 1 ("rural")	**(a)** Mode 1 ("rural") **(b)** Mode 1 ("rural")	**(a)** Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") **(b)** Mode 2 ("wage earner")	**(a)** Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") **(b)** Mode 2 ("wage earner")	**(a)** Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") **(b)** Mode 2 ("wage earner")	**(a)** Composite of Modes 1 ("rural") and 2 ("wage earner") **(b)** Mode 2 ("wage earner")

Table 1. Informants' Background and Orientation to Community



MAP 1: Map showing the Jutlandic regions and the location of Thyborøn.

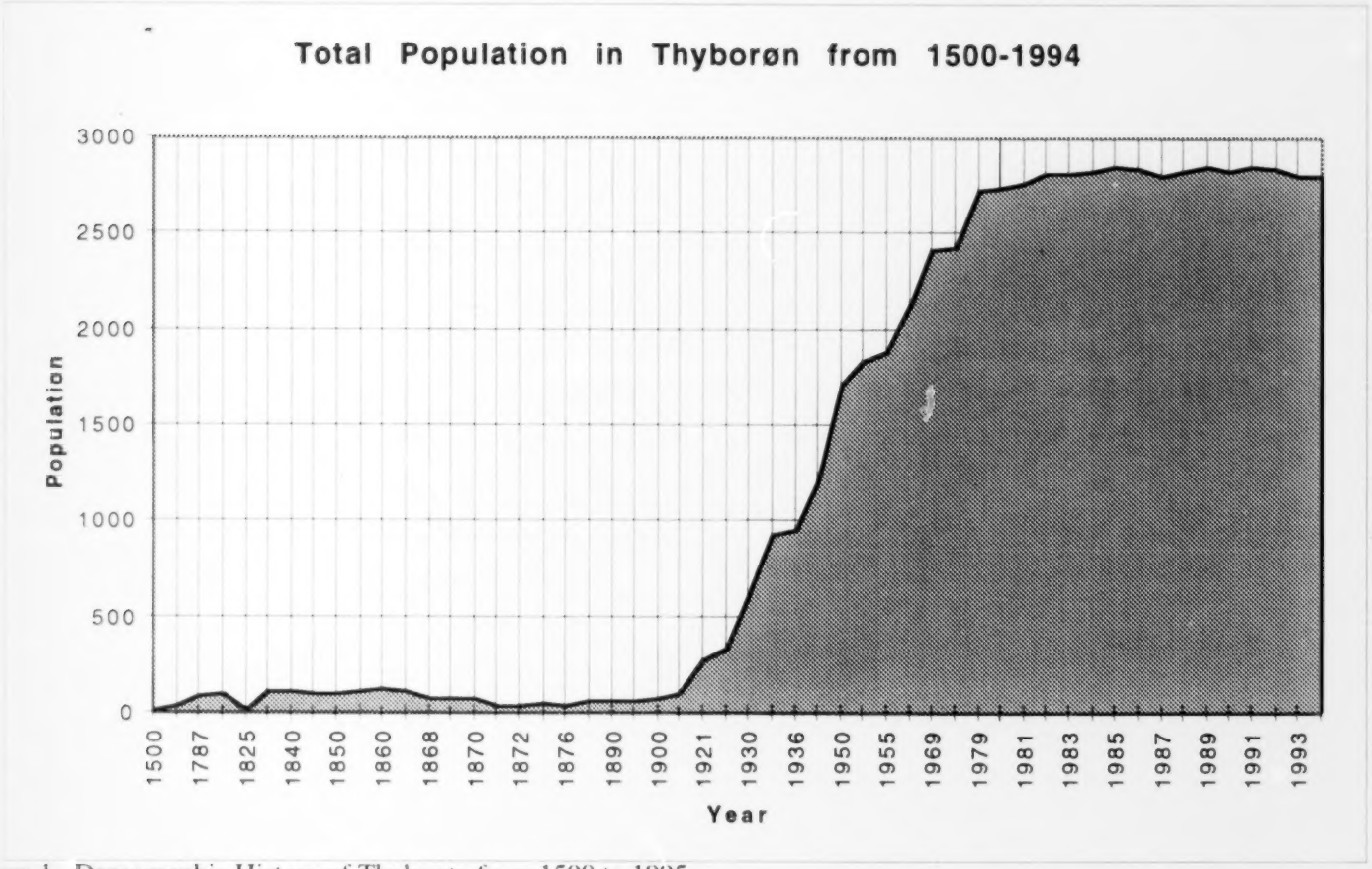


Figure 1. Demographic History of Thyborøn from 1500 to 1995

Ideology	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V.	Annine K.	Karen J.	Inger H.	Vibeke N.	Dorte M.
(1)	West Jutlandic, became Thyborønsk	West Jutlandic, became Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk, but becoming more generally West Jutlandic	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk, but I've made it more general Jutlandic	General Jutlandic, not "old Thyborønsk"
(2)	Husband and Thyborøn residents	Husband and Thyborøn residents	Other children in Thyborøn when I grew up.	Other children in Thyborøn when I grew up.	Other children growing up, but I've changed my speech as an adult because people from other towns made fun of me and made me feel like a "hick".	Other children growing up, but I've changed my speech as an adult because people from other towns made fun of me in school and exposure through sports clubs.
(3)	Thyborøn	America	Thyborøn	Thyborøn	Holstebro (larger city in West Jutland)	Out of the country, maybe Australia
(4)	Can't imagine being anything other than a "regular wife"	Don't know, maybe a professional tailor	Get a higher education degree and become a physical therapist	Either the same (kitchen assistant), hairdresser or physical therapist	Physical therapist - I've already taken all the preparatory classes, but I can't afford the professional school	I would like to do social work or become a physical therapist.
(5)	Wouldn't know what to change - never had any opportunities	Yes, I would have been more assertive as a young girl and moved to America	Can't imagine changing anything	No, but I wish I had spent more time at home when the children were young instead of being out with friends	Yes, I wish I had pursued my education before I had a child. I'd still like to "widen my horizons" though	I would have liked to travel before I ended up with a husband and children. Maybe we will when the children are grown.
(6)	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Standard Danish as a baby, now some Thyborønsk also	Standard Danish, a little Thyborønsk, but not much.
(7)	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	West Jutlandic with some Thyborønsk	*	*	*

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Ideology	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	Karen V.	Annine K.	Karen J.	Inger H.	Vibeke N.	Dorte M.
(8)	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk	Thyborønsk, but not as "broad" as us	Thyborønsk, but not as "broad" as us	She speaks Standard Danish, but she can speak and understand Thyborønsk also. I want her to be able to choose what she will speak.	He speaks mostly general Jutlandic, but it's a mix of Standard Danish and Jutlandic.
(9)	"Proper Danish"; Jutlandic	Jutlandic	"Proper Danish"; Jutlandic	*	*	*
(10)	**(a)** They live in Thyborøn and a near by town **(b)** Not necessarily	**(a) & (b)** They all live outside of Thyborøn but in West Jutland	**(a)** They live in Thyborøn but don't all work here **(b)** They might live here, but I doubt if they will probably have work in a larger town	**(a)** They live and work in Thyborøn, but not in fishing **(b)** *	**(a)** I don't know, but she will have a higher education and that will mean there's little chance of getting a job here. **(b)** *	**(a)** I doubt he will live or work in Thyborøn because of the economy and because he will have a higher education, so there won't be room for him here. **(b)** *
(11)	**(a)** Children are settled and fine **(b)** Don't know	*	**(a)** They are settled and fine - they don't work in the fishing industry. We advised them to get a higher education. **(b)** I would advise them to get a higher education so they can choose where they want to be	**(a)** I think they will be fine, but I'm afraid Thyborøn is becoming a "dead town" **(b)** *	**(a)** Thyborøn has a future, otherwise I wouldn't live here. But I don't know what she would do out here, or why I taught her Standard Danish. **(b)** *	**(a)** I don't know what type of future there will be for him. But I do know that he will get an education and make something of himself. **(b)** *

Table 2. Informants' Ideological Orientation to Community and Dialect Use

Table 2:

Key: Same level of shading indicates similar/same orientation within and/or across groups. Differences in shading indicate self-defined generational differences across groups.

Ideology Questions Asked (Table 2):

(1) How would you characterize your speech? (i.e. which dialect)
(2) Who has had the most influence on the way you speak?
(3) If you could live anywhere, where would that be?
(4) What type of profession would you choose if you could?
(5) If you could do change your situation as it is now would you?
(6) What dialect do/did you use to speak to your children?
(7) What dialect do/did you use to speak to your grandchildren?
(8) How would you characterize your children's speech? (i.e. which dialect)
(9) How would you characterize your grandchildren's speech? (i.e. which dialect)
(10) Do you think your **(a)** children or **(b)** grandchildren will live and/or work in Thyborøn?
(11) What type of future is there in Thyborøn for your **(a)** children or **(b)** grandchildren?

* mark in cell indicates question did not pertain to informant.

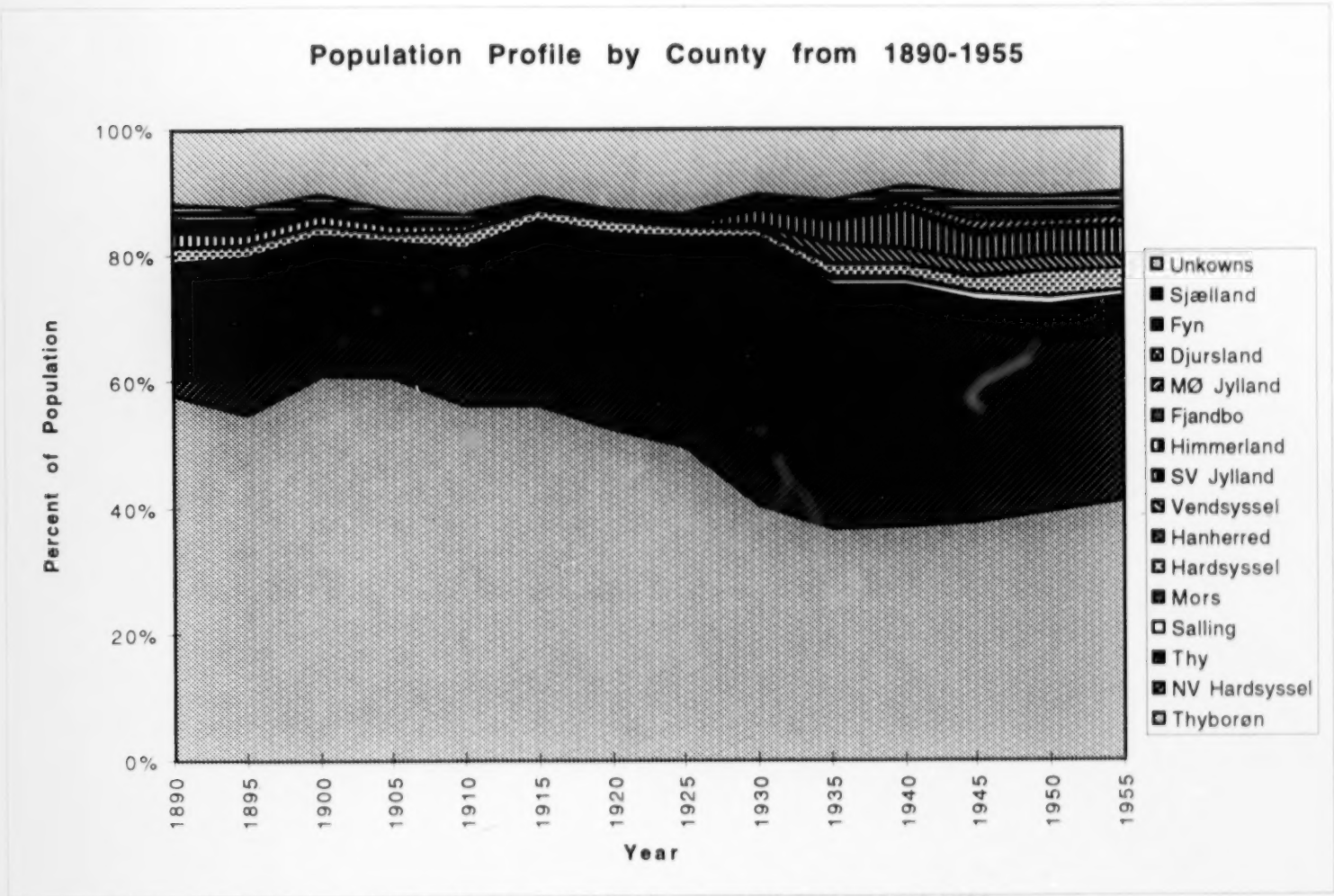

Figure 2. Demographic Profile of Thyborøn's Population by County of Origin from 1890-1955

Markers	Group 1				Group 2				Group 3			
	Karen V.		Anmine K.		Karen J.		Inger H.		Vibeke N.		Dorte M.	
	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95
(1) *nogen* 'some'	nɔw nown	nown	nawn nown	nown no.ŋ	nɑ́.n nown nɑ́wn	nown noŋ	nown nɑ́wn	nown	no nown nɔwn	noŋ	no.n nown .	nown noŋ
(2) *noget* 'some'	nɔ nɔj	nɔj	nɔj no.	nɔj	nɔj	nɔj	nɔj nɔjˀ	nɔj	nɔj	nɔj	nɔj	nɔj
(3) *meget* 'much'	mɔjˀ mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ mɔj	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ	mɔjˀ mɔj	mɔjˀ
(4) *sådan* 'such'	sɔˀn sɑ́ˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn sʌˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn sɑ́ˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn	sɔˀn sʌˀn	sɔˀn
(5) *ikke* 'not'	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀	ɛ̀ ɛ̀	ɛ̀
(6) *ellers* 'otherwise'		hɛsŋ		hɛlsŋ		hɛlsŋ ɛ̀ˀəɹ		hɛlsŋ ɛ̀ˀəɹ	ɛlə.ɹs			ɛlə.ɹs
(7) *nød* 'necessary'				nɔjˀ	nɔjˀ	nøˀʰ		nɔjˀ nyˀ	nɔjˀ	nɔjˀ	nɔjˀ nɔj	nɔjˀ
(8) *gift* 'married'		gɔwˀt gift gi.ft			gift	gɔwˀt	gɔwˀt	gɔwt	gɪwt	gi.ft gɪwt	gɪwt	gɪwt
(9) *gang* 'occasion'	gaŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ	gaŋˀ	gaŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ	gaŋˀ gɑ́nˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ	gɔŋˀ gɑ́ŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ gaŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ gɔŋˀ	gɑ́ŋˀ
(10) *børn* 'children'	bö̀ˀɹn baˀɹ	bö̀ˀɹn		bö̀ˀɹn	boˀɹn bɑ	boˀɹn	bɑ́ bɑˀ	bɑ̀ˀn bɑˀɹ	boˀɹn	boɹˀn	boˀɹn boɹn	boɹn
(11) *år* 'year'	ɑ́ˀ	ɑ́ˀʷ	ɑ́ˀˢ	ɑ́ˀʷˢ	ɑ́ˀ	ɑ́ˀɹ	oˀˢ ɑ́ˀˢ	ɑ́ˀˢ	ɑ̀ˀ oˀʷˢ	ɑ̀ˀɹ ɑ́ˀʷ	ɑ́ˀʷˢ ɑ́ˀˢ	ɑ́ˀʷ
(12) *mor* 'mother; mom'	mo. moɹ	mɔwə		mowʰ muʰ	mow	mo.ə	mo. moʰ	mɔɹ	mow:	mo.ⁿ	mow	mo. moɹ
(13) *dag* 'day'	daw. dɑ́ˀ	daw dɑ́ˀʰ	dawˀ	dawˀ	dɑwˀ dawˀ	dawˀ	dɑwˀ dɑ́ˀʰ	dawˀ	dɑwˀ	dawˀ	dɑwˀ	dawˀ
(14) *tirsdag* 'Tuesday'		ti.sdə				ti.sdə		ti.sdə	tiˀɹsdæ			tiˀɹsdæ

Markers	Group 1				Group 2				Group 3			
	Karen V		Anmine K		Karen J		Inger H.		Vibeke N		Dorte M	
	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95	'89	'95
(15) ***fredag*** 'Friday'		fre.ɔə		fre.də				fre.ɔə	fre?dæ		fre?dæ	
(16) ***med*** 'with'	maɪ	maɪ mɛ	maɪ	maɪ mɛ	maɪ	maɪ mɛ		maɪ mɛ	maɪ	maɪ	maɪ	maɪ
(17) ***jeg*** 'I'	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ jə	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ jaɪ	ɛ ə æ	ɛ jaɪ
(18) ***gøre gør*** 'to do; do'	gɔj gɔ gjɔ? gɔ?	gɔj	gɔ gö? gøɹ?	gɔ?	gɔ gɔ? gɔ?ə	gɔ?*	gɔj gɔ?	gjɔ" gɔj	gjö gɔ? gɔ gɔj	gɔ.	gjö gɔ? gɔ gö ɹ	gɔɹ gjɔ
(19) ***gjorde*** 'did'	gjo		gjo?	gjo.?	gjo?ə gjo.ɹ	gjo.?ɹ	gjo? gjowʔə	gjoɹ			gjɔ	gjo.ɹ
(20) ***sige siger*** 'to say; say'	saɪ	saɪ saɪə saɪ?ə	saɪ seɪ saɪə	saɪ saɪ?ə si.ə	saɪ saɪ?ə	saɪ saɪə	saɪ saɪ? saɪə	saɪ saɪə	saɪ saɪ?ə	saɪ saɪ?ə	saɪ ɔj saɪ?ə saɪə	saɪ saɪə
(21) ***sagde*** 'said'	sɑ.	sɑ.	saɪ	sa.	sɑ.		sɑ? sa	sɑ.?		sakt	sɔ.	sɑ.
(22) ***synes*** 'believe'	tɔw?s	tɔw?s	tɔw?s		tɔw?s tɯs	tɔw?s	tɔw?s	tɔw?s	tɔw?s	tɔw?s	tɔw?s tɯs	tɔw?s tɯs
(23) ***synes*** 'believed'							tøt	tɔwst			tɔt"	tɔwst
(24) ***læse læser*** 'to read; read'	løːsə		lejsə				bs	løːs	le.s		les	

Table 3. Informants' Use of 24 Linguistic Markers.

Key: *Informants responses are phonetically transcribed.*
Light shading indicates early presence of potential shifting.
Medium shading indicates generational markers.
Darker shading indicates regional standardization of form.

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